10¢ JULY 3, 1950

New Republic

WAR IN KOREA

FINAL TEST OF THE UN

TOO MANY PEOPLE TOO FAST

By WARREN S. THOMPSON

WILL THE BOOM LAST?

By DEWEY ANDERSON

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Letter from a Subscriber

June 15, 1950

"Editors of The New Republic
40 East 49 Street, New York

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So don't ever get discouraged. You wield a mighty influence."

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

REMEMBER the Roosevelt Revolution that was going to destroy America?

Last week the Senate voted, 81 to 2, to extend that "revolution" and nobody paid much attention. About 10 million more persons will come under social-security coverage by the vote, and only two Republicans—Cain and Butler—opposed it.

Back in 1936 the Republicans thought they could elect Alf Landon by opposing FDR's social-security scheme. We remember opening the Boston *Herald* on November 2, 1936, just before the election, to find an eight-column scarehead declaring that all workers would have to wear an aluminum "dog-tag" under the heinous system! There was a picture of the tag, too—every Hearst paper in America carried it, and so did many others. Business concerns prophesied the awful things that would happen; chiefly they warned their employees that federal intervention to assuage the hazards of a penniless old age would ruin their morale.

Let's draw a long breath. Four-fifths of America's press was for Alf Landon. He lost. Four-fifths of America's press and periodicals have opposed the winning candidate ever since. Today hardly an issue of the *Reader's Digest*, *Life*, the *Saturday Evening Post* or *Collier's* is sold that doesn't attack liberalism in some form; so, probably, do your radio and your daily paper. They are for Taft and against "socialized medicine." And what ultimately happens? The Senate votes, 81 to 2, for what they damned a dozen years ago.

Take courage in that 81-to-2 vote. You can't fool the public for long. The new concept of the state's relation to the individual is irresistible, the Roosevelt tide runs as strong as ever beneath the newspaper froth—yes, and this column's voice comes nearer to the aspirations of the people than does the *Reader's Digest*, though our circulation is probably not quite so big.

Among the people we detest, Merwin K. Hart of the National Economic Council and persons of his stamp are well up in front. Hart runs one of the anti-labor "hate" groups, close to the lunatic fringe, that Representative Buchanan's lobby committee is investigating.

Hart wants citizens to arm themselves against prospective insurrections; he wants the present Supreme Court removed ("constitutionally," he explains) because they are pro-Socialist. After listening to him, we put him down as a sincere zealot and not one of the phonies who are in the hate racket for profit.

"But who can possibly support Hart?" we asked. It was a shattering experience. We found we were helping him ourselves. You see, some of America's biggest concerns have been making quiet contributions to outfits like Hart's; this is what the lobby committee is exploring. Quite unkown to TRB, who owns a few shares of Sears, Roebuck stock, SR's management has been backing the native American Fascist, Hart. So have the J. I. Case Company, Pure Oil Company, Armco Steel, and so on. The Beech Aircraft Company of Wichita, Kansas, put up one penny per share to further Merwin K. Hart's propaganda machine.

We have always held that the real enemies of capitalism were the capitalists. How can these company executives explain to shareholders who loathe Hart, Rumely and Kamp why their companies help their work? Why can't Sear's, Roebuck stick to selling refrigerators? The editorial howls of rage against Chairman Buchanan indicate pretty clearly that he has drawn blood. The last thing the companies want is exposure. We should think there might be some minority stockholders' suits in the offing.

The Philippines situation is taking an alarming turn—especially alarming in view of Korea. The deterioration of the political picture is particularly disturbing since the islands are now considered the key strategic point of Amer-

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ican interests in the far Pacific. Look at a map and you'll see why. During the war the Philippines were unimportant, since fortified Jap islands lay between them and us. But today they are in the front line of American strength: the apex of a gigantic triangle of successive positions all now firmly held by Western power. But politically the islands have been nearly bankrupted by a spendthrift government, and Communist guerrillas are gaining strength. Some major action here is almost certain before long.

Will America's "new weapons" be supplied to our friends abroad? There is a fantastic element in the debate, since nobody knows for sure what the new weapons are, or how soon they will be available. But take our word, they are not just a pipe dream. In a joint report, the powerful Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees formally stated on June 21 that "these new mass-produced, relatively low-cost weapons" made the defense of Western Europe "feasible" and put it within the nation's financial capacity.

Mexico's dollar gap is so big she has decided she must curtail buying US goods. Her decision has started to topple over a worldwide line of dominoes. When we gave Mexico tariff reductions on oil, they were extended automatically to Venezuela, Saudi Arabia and elsewhere. Unless emergency action is taken, tariff concessions to these countries will stop when the US-Mexican agreement ends. Dollar-hungry nations ineligible for Marshall Plan aid, like Mexico, have no direct US subsidy to bolster their economies. Mexico has been seeking a $200 million US loan (like Argentina's). But the State Department demands that Mexico reopen her oil fields to foreign concessionaires who were ousted (and indemnified) under the reform Cardenas government in 1938.

Notes. The Tydings committee will split on party lines, three to two, on the McCarthy charges; Lodge has gone over to Hickenlooper. . . . Prospective lower pork prices in the fall may defeat Hickenlooper in Iowa; he vigorously opposes the Brannan farm-price-stabilization plan.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Case of "Treason"

SIR: Your May 29th review of my book, *Treason: The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American History*, is an astonishing performance. Closely paralleling the arguments which appeared in the New York *Compass* on March 26, it misrepresents both the contents and conclusions of the book.

1. The main grievance which your reviewer, Mr. Malcolm Hobbs, seems to have is that I include treatment of the cases of Hiss, Coplon and the Communist Party leaders. He states correctly—as I did on *the first page* of the Foreword—that none of these people is guilty of treason under the Constitution. He then has the impertinence to suggest that I dragged these cases into the book to increase its "salability." I take it that I am being accused of falsely branding men as traitors for personal pecuniary motives!

2. Henry Steele Commager dealt with this matter succinctly and accurately in the June 4th *Herald Tribune*:

> As his subtitle indicates, he [Weyl] is concerned with the whole story of disloyalty and betrayal in American history. There is some danger of confusion here, but it must be said that Mr. Weyl is careful at all times to distinguish between the constitutional crime and the popular concept and that he performs a capital service in making that distinction clear for the present crisis.

3. In short, I think I have done everything within my power to clarify what the crime of treason is in America and what it is not. Immediately preceding treatment of the Hiss case, I discuss at length the relationship between treason and pro-Soviet espionage.

4. Mr. Hobbs makes his innuendo seem plausible by suppressing the subtitle of my book from the text of his review and *even from the review caption.* Had he not done so, he would have been obliged to face the real issue: When American government officials transmit secret documents to a Soviet espionage ring, does this conduct belong in "The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American History"? There can hardly be two answers to that question.

5. After playing variations on his original theme for a few hundred words, your reviewer unexpectedly shifts ground: "To be sure, Weyl *admits* that it is not strictly accurate to employ the term treason in the current prosecutions." One would think that this "admission" had been wrung from me by duress. Hobbs then immediately attacks on a new salient. I am charged with using "guilt-by-association" techniques in linking the names of Alger Hiss and Benedict Arnold. This is wholly preposterous. One might equally well charge me with extolling Mr. Hiss by association in that he appears in the same company as John Brown and Thomas Wilson Dorr. Parenthetically, no opinion is expressed in the book as to Hiss's guilt or innocence.

6. Mr. Hobbs concludes with the statement that I favor "weaken[ing] constitutional safeguards," that I am "impatient with constitutional restraints" and that I am willing to stretch the crime of treason to cover "ideas" as well as action. All these inferences are false. Discussions of American civil liberties and the Constitution spread through twelve chapters of the book refute them. To quote Dr. Commager again:

> This book might have been a chamber of horrors, but is no such thing. Thanks to the good sense and sound historical judgment of Mr. Weyl, it is reassuring rather than frightening. It suggests that more harm than good may come of a revival of the old common-law concepts of sedition or the application of new techniques of thought control. . . . It makes clear that the best safeguard against disloyalty is not a barricade of laws but a happy and prosperous people.

7. I am writing this letter, not because your review is critical, but because it attributes to me ideas, arguments and motivations which are wholly fanciful.

NATHANIEL WEYL

Washington, D. C.

SIR: I am very sorry to have disturbed Mr. Weyl, although happy to see that it is not because I was critical of his book.

I think Mr. Weyl is properly annoyed at my attributing to him pecuniary motives in all this. Since obviously I have no ringside seat to his psyche, I sincerely accept his disclaimer on something I should not have raised in the first place. The only point I should have made was that the title *Treason* is more catchy in these hysterical times than a more accurate title would have been. I felt that this was unwarranted catering to hysteria.

I am impressed by Mr. Weyl's use of Henry Steele Commager as counsel for the defense. I admit to being completely inadequate to enter into debate with such an authority. I'll have to stick to Mr. Weyl in the original.

The second sentence in his letter demonstrates the very bent to which I objected, and I believe validly, in his book. He says: "Closely paralleling the arguments which appeared in the New York *Compass*, it . . . etc." Now why would he cite this publication? I am certain that Mr. Weyl must have on hand other "unfavorable" reviews. I can remember one which appeared in the Washington *Post* "closely paralleling" Hobbs. . . . So why pick the *Compass*? Could it be because it is a well-known left-wing journal? And therefore Hobbs must be left-wing, too, or Communist, or Titoist, or whatever? Ergo,

(Continued on page 23)

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 1, ISSUE 1857, NEW YORK CITY, JULY 3, 1950 **New Republic**

KOREA: FINAL TEST OF THE UN

THE SITUATION in Korea is the most serious development since the end of the Second World War. There have been many previous border incidents along the 38th Parallel, which divides Soviet-dominated North Korea from US-dominated South Korea; but nothing has been seen thus far which equals the present attack from the North. That this is true is shown by the instantaneous reaction at Lake Success, where the Security Council ordered the fighting stopped; in Tokyo, where General MacArthur began rushing military supplies to South Korea; in government circles in Washington, London and Paris.

There are several aspects of the situation which need to be considered separately.

Who began the fighting? Each side is claiming, as usual, that the other struck the first blow; but both the military situation and the dictates of common sense strongly suggest that North Korea is the aggressor. First, the early fighting was almost all on South Korean soil. Second, South Korea, at the end of the peninsula, is the last solitary outpost of the non-Communist world on the continent of Asia north of French Indo-China. What could the South Koreans possibly hope to gain by an attack on an enemy whose solid ranks extend all the way to Finland and West Germany?

Is the Soviet Union behind the assault? The answer is certainly, Yes. North Korea is another puppet state like Bulgaria, Rumania or Czechoslovakia. Its army is Russian-trained and Russian-equipped. To suppose that it would go to war on the present scale without, at the very least, Russia's foreknowledge and approval, is to suppose the impossible.

Does the USSR want a full-scale war with the West? Such evidence as we have indicates that she does not. She is not ready for such a war; most of her recent military preparations have been defensive only; in atomic weapons she can have made no more than a start, if she has done even that much. It seems altogether likely that Moscow has decided we will not fight on a full scale for Korea and that she can risk war for the sake of the advantages to be gained from overrunning the last democratic listening-post in Northeast Asia. Knowing that we will not pick a fight ourselves, the Russians can at any time test the situation in any locality with belligerent action which can be as limited or as extensive as they choose.

Will the belligerents obey the UN? As we go to press, there is no sign that they will. South Korea will not lay down her arms and permit the invader to win, merely because an international organization 12,000 miles away tells her to do so. The invader, of course, knew that such an order from the UN would be forthcoming, and discounted this possibility in advance.

Can the invasion be stopped? This depends, of course, on the military forces available on both sides, which depends in turn on what the US and USSR have done and intend to do. The general impression in Washington seems to be that if neither of these powers gives substantial help beyond what has already been provided, South Korea will fall in a fairly short time, except for possible guerrilla operations from the mountains. If both powers pour in additional military supplies, the picture might of course be altered. In that case logistics would enormously favor the USSR. It has land communication with North Korea; the US, except for the necessarily limited materiel in Japan and other islands in the Western Pacific, would have to send supplies across that big ocean. Most authorities doubt that the United States could even hold Japan in the case of an all-out war with the USSR; and the problem of defending South Korea is analogous, on a much smaller scale.

If South Korea were to fall, would the strategic picture be altered? The New York *Times* believes that it would be, involving "an immediate revision of our defenses" in Alaska, Japan, Okinawa and the Philippines. But this argument is based on the assumption that our military planners expected South Korea to continue indefinitely as an independent state and a potential base for our forces. Such an expectation seems highly unrealistic unless it is based upon some concept of new weapons which completely alters all existing ideas.

Will the fate of Korea be vital for developments in Southeast Asia? The argument is advanced by advocates of immediate, unlimited military intervention in Korea that what we do there will exert a decisive influence in

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Southeast Asia; that the people of Indo-China, Thailand, Burma and Malaya will be unwilling to stand against the advance of Communism unless they are sure that we will give them complete support. It is true that in the modern world everything is connected with everything else; but the argument for aiding Korea is one which cuts both ways. If we were to intervene in Korea and our intervention proved unsuccessful, the damage to the morale of Southeast Asia would be at least as serious as though we had not intervened at all.

It is a profound error to assume that the people of other countries share to the full our loathing of Communism and, in particular, our overwhelming enthusiasm for our own way of life. On the contrary, most of the people of Asia (including the Koreans) prefer us, if at all, only in that Communism seems to them even worse than the colonialism which up to now has been their solitary contact with us. They will continue to accept or reject us according to what they believe is their own best interest at any given moment, and, so far as Southeast Asia is concerned, with little relation to what happens in Korea.

What should the US do? The most important single point in this crisis, it seems to us, is to uphold the authority of the UN. We must be realistic about this; the UN's authority has been flouted in the past and the organization has survived—if its present state of impotence can be called survival. Yet the challenge offered by Korea is on a different level from that of the Israeli-Arab war—which was itself not stopped by the UN but subjected to successful mediation as to peace terms after an Israeli victory. Another defeat for the effort to create a worldwide organization after the death of the League of Nations would be fatal at least for decades, perhaps for an even longer period.

The UN has taken a bold stand in immediately ordering that the fighting should halt. The US must do everything it can to see that the risk the UN has taken is justified by events. General MacArthur has ordered military supplies rushed to the South Koreans, and in the circumstances it was inevitable that he should, and it would be quixotic to demand now that this movement should cease. But Korea must not be allowed to become another Spain, with two great powers again using it, as Russia and Germany used the Spanish Civil War, as a dress rehearsal for a world conflict. It is imperative that whatever the United States does should support the authority of the UN, and not destroy it. Our shipments of military supplies should at once be endorsed by the United Nations, which will of course also take economic and all other possible sanctions. This is a bad corner; but we can get successfully around it if we do not let firmness turn into unreasoning rage, and if we remember that the final objective still remains the prevention of world conflict.

THE WEEK

MORE SOCIAL SECURITY

Congress is heading toward a pay-as-you-go system of social security for everyone in the United States. Statements made by both Democratic and Republican leaders, and the debate on extension of the present old-age-insurance program which has just taken place in the Senate, made it clear that this is the ultimate goal.

There was little question from the beginning of this Congress that extensive liberalizations in the existing system would be voted. Months of hearings convinced even conservatives in the Senate Finance Committee like Chairman Walter George (D, Ga.) and Robert A. Taft (R, Ohio) that it was necessary to bring another 10 million people under old-age insurance, and to increase the benefits. The committee recommended that older workers be made eligible for benefits after working only six quarters under the program, that maximum family benefits be raised from the present $85 to $150, and individual benefits to $80.

Dozens of far more drastic improvements in the old system were proposed in the committee and rejected. Most of them were brought up again when the bill reached the floor, but except for two changes, one an improvement and one a backward step, the bill went through the Senate as drawn up by the committee. The greatest gain was in the agreement to increase the amount of wages subject to social-security taxes from $3,000 to $3,600. Regrettable was acceptance of the motion of Senator William Knowland (R, Calif.) to prohibit the federal government from withholding funds from states which failed to comply with proper standards in administering unemployment aid.

The increase in the wage base for old-age insurance was a defeat for the insurance lobby, which dislikes substantial federal benefits as competition with private insurance. Senator Knowland's victory prevents the federal government's equalizing treatment of the unemployed from state to state. It was the result of high-powered lobbying by the State Unemployment Compensation Commissioners, who telegraphed to every Senator on behalf of the amendment. To every liberalizing amendment offered from the floor, the Republican members of the Finance Committee shouted that the committee's report must not be tampered with. But on Knowland's amendment, the Republicans, led by Taft, flagrantly voted against the very report they had declared to be sacred.

Millions of additional agricultural and domestic workers, government employees and self-employed persons will

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now become eligible for social-security benefits. Yet millions more still have far from adequate insurance against old age or disability, or none. The over-all study of this problem which the Senate has approved will presumably recommend an answer.

During the recent discussion on extending benefits, Senator Taft, perhaps the most dangerous opponent of the program in Congress, did not assail the whole system—apparently believing that this was not the year to do so. His objective, the same as that expressed in a report of the Brookings Institution last year, is a universal old-age-pension system on a very low level, around $25 to $30 a month, based on a means test. Those who share his view of what old people should have do not expect to get agreement all at once. The first step is to destroy the people's confidence in the contributory-insurance principle as a matter of right, and that is what Taft has concentrated on doing this year. The next step will be to sell people on the idea that they can get more under some other old-age plan than is offered by the present one.

STUDENTS ON LOYALTY

The Students for Democratic Action, offspring of the ADA, concentrated on academic freedom, a highly controversial topic in these days of loyalty oaths, at its third annual convention last week in Swarthmore, Pennsylvania. The 150 delegates from 30 states declared their opposition to "continuing legislative and college witch-hunts aimed at suppression of teachers' rights." An educational program, the group said, that is "spoon-fed" to American students "denies our faith in democracy and poorly prepares us for participation in the real world of competing ideas."

They charged that "the demand that a professor sign either a non-Communist oath or a loyalty pledge deprives him of his privileges as a citizen in a free society," and advocated these rights for students and professors: political and religious opinion should not be considered evidence of incompetence to teach; employment, rehiring and tenure of faculty members should depend solely upon their qualifications; tenure policy should be made by the faculty rather than "non-academic elements often in control of college policy through financial influence"; dismissals should be subject to a public trial by faculty colleagues; students should be free to organize associations for political, religious and social purposes; such organizations should invite "speakers of their own choice"; and students should be "free to campaign for political candidates, picket in labor disputes, and take active part in public demonstrations."

WISE VETO

Fighting monopoly has been President Truman's strong point this year, even though he has had to approach it from the back door by means of vetoes. Both the Kerr gas grab and Big Steel's basing-point bill were lobbied through Congress, only to be crushed by a Presidential veto.

The controversial basing-point bill, which was the attempt of the steel and cement industries to circumvent the 1948 Supreme Court decision forbidding shippers to absorb freight charges in certain cases held injurious to competition, was sponsored by Democrats, but supported primarily by Republicans. In the House, 155 Democrats and 20 Republicans voted against it. In the Senate, only seven Republicans and 33 Democrats opposed the measure.

In vetoing this bill, the President declared that it would have reduced "the protection afforded the public by the anti-trust laws." He pointed out that the various conflicting interpretations of the bill given during Congressional debate, and in testimony for and against it, showed that passage would mean "many years of complex litigation to get a clear and specific understanding of the law; meanwhile, some individuals might be encouraged to resume practices which are now prohibited."

Recent court decisions, the President told Congress, have eliminated certain abuses of competition. Court rulings against the cement and conduit companies found them guilty of violating the anti-trust laws by quoting uniform delivered prices to customers over wide areas. The Federal Trade Commission claimed that the companies were also engaged in a conspiracy to fix prices. "The [FTC] and the courts now consider a great number of factors in determining whether there has been an unlawful conspiracy to fix prices in a particular case," the President said. "Among these factors are the operation of freight-absorption and basing-point systems as they affect pricing and competition." The basing-point bill would have required the FTC to show that suspected practices would have the effect of reducing competition substantially. President Truman warned that such language would make the courts "feel compelled to require proof that damage to competition is already occurring, or will certainly follow, before discriminations can be stopped.

"I recognize the businessmen have been concerned lest they be penalized for perfectly sensible and appropriate competitive action," the President said. "I believe their concern is unwarranted. If in the future there should be clear evidence to the contrary, the law should, of course, be changed."

LEWIS AND THE NAZIS

Charles Van Devander, who last December wrote a series of articles on Fulton Lewis Jr. in the New York *Post*, charged last week, in a new series, that the Washington commentator had volunteered advice to Hitler at a crucial time during the German putsch. Lewis' friendly attitude toward the Nazi Wehrmacht was said to be exposed in German documents, captured by the US Army in 1945 and now in the possession of our government.

In 1940, when France had been overrun by Hitler and England was recovering from the Dunkirk evacuation, Kurt Sell, press adviser to the German Embassy in Washington, is reported to have sent a memorandum to Berlin reporting that most of the North American delegates and journalists to the foreign ministers' meeting in Havana regarded war between the US and Germany as inevitable and imminent. The message said in part:

In full recognition of this actual or presumed situation, Fulton Lewis approached me yesterday. Lewis, who has been friendly with me for 12 years, highly respectable, an American journalist admiring Germany and the Führer, a political commentator with Mutual Broadcasting . . . declared that the people wanted no

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war, but were rather defenseless against Roosevelt's refined tactics, especially now that he has made Congress a yes-apparatus without a will of its own. . . . He therefore requests to be allowed to expound the following idea, which he has discussed with several serious-minded people: have the Führer send a telegram to Roosevelt of not more than 200 words [Lewis' suggested telegram is described as proposing that Hitler should publicly appeal to President Roosevelt to bring pressure on Churchill to end his "senseless" and "pigheaded" resistance]. . . . Lewis added that Roosevelt would naturally answer with incivility and animosity; that didn't matter. But upon the North American people, and, above all, upon South America, the appeal will make a deep impression and in no sense would be interpreted in serious-thinking circles as weakness.

Lewis has denied that he ever made such a statement or ever even held such an idea. He has made public correspondence with Sell in 1947 in which Sell denies having written the memorandum, or that it correctly represented Lewis' views, and says the whole thing was the work of another German official named Tauchnitz. Sell did say, however, in a letter to Drew Pearson, that he had told Tauchnitz that "the only way both Lewis and I felt that a terrific catastrophe involving the whole world could be avoided was that Hitler should end the war now. We didn't discuss nor did we much care about conditions."

Senator Hubert Humphrey (D, Minn.) has written to the Defense Department and the State Department, demanding that all the documents in *l'affaire Lewis* be made public.

WHO DEFEATED GRAHAM?

Frank Porter Graham, one of the pioneers of Southern liberalism, has been ousted from his Senate seat by as deliberate an appeal to prejudice as was used in Florida to defeat Claude Pepper. In fact, observers of the two elections believe that the axe was wielded on Senator Graham by the same professional hand that contrived Senator Pepper's downfall.

Last week's runoff primary in which the corporation lawyer, Willis Smith, beat Graham by about 20,000 votes, bore little resemblance to the first primary of a month ago when Graham came within 5,000 of winning a clear majority of all the votes cast. In that first race, Smith's managers were inept. This time, the job had the slickness of big-time advertising techniques.

The decision to demand the runoff primary was made only after the Supreme Court handed down its decisions against segregation in the Sweatt and Henderson cases, and the entire operation that followed was designed to capitalize on local resentment against those verdicts. Five separate handbills smearing Graham for alleged preference for Negroes over whites were distributed statewide. The wording was almost the same as that on similar flyers used in Florida. Money was poured into newspaper advertising and into buying radio time to tell the voters that Frank Graham's main purpose in life was to destroy white supremacy. The fact that three race cases involving Negro men, one culminating in the brutal murder of a white woman, occurred in eastern North Carolina within a few days after the Supreme Court action caused fatal defections from Graham in that rural area.

Graham's friends in the CIO tried to counter-attack for him, and in the two counties where labor was strongest—Durham and Buncombe (Ashville)—they did roll up two-to-one majorities for the Senator. But labor, too, absorbed the anti-Negro poison.

Graham's workers report being offered $100 apiece to forget Graham and work for Smith at the polls on election day. They estimate that Smith's supporters spent very close to $1 million on the runoff alone. They believe this standard package will now be marketed in Louisiana, where Russell Long is the next Southern liberal marked for extinction.

SEGREGATION UNDER ARMS

The Senate vote on the Russell amendment to require strict segregation of the races in the armed forces is revealing proof that civil-rights measures can pass the Senate with an easy majority if debate is limited. Senator Richard Russell (D, Ga.) attempted to amend the Draft Extension Act to provide that every person volunteering or drafted into the armed forces would have to state in writing whether he preferred to serve in mixed racial units or in those composed only of members of his own race.

Russell's amendment would have nullified the action taken by President Truman's Committee for Equality of Opportunity in the Armed Forces to implement complete integration in all branches of the Department of Defense. More than a year ago, the Air Force abandoned segregated units and, in a recent survey of the white officers, found that while commanding officers had been apprehensive at first, "without any exception, they stated that their fears had been completely groundless, and that they were amazed at the ease with which the new policy had been effected and the absence of trouble" (see the *NR*, May 15). Even the officers from the South said the new policy was working "without friction."

THE WASHINGTON POST

Opening the 1950 Channel-Swimming Season

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OUTSIDE AMERICA

Italian Admiral Franco Maugeri is a professional navy officer who has had a distinguished career covering some thirty years during which he was awarded four silver medals—Italy's second-highest decoration—and three bronze medals. It was Maugeri who was chosen by the Italian High Command to carry out the delicate task of accompanying Mussolini to prison, first at Ponza, then at Maddalena. And it was also Maugeri who, on September 6, 1943, was assigned to bring the American officers, General Taylor and Colonel Gardiner, to Rome for the negotiations which led to the armistice. For his part in these negotiations he was awarded the Legion of Merit by the United States Government.

After the war, while Maugeri was in command of the Spezia Naval Area, he wrote a book called *Against Germany*. On the advice of friends, he sent the manuscript to an agent in the United States. In January, 1947, shortly after Maugeri was named Chief of Staff of the Italian navy, he was informed that the book might be publishable if he permitted an American ghost writer to change its form so that it would be more acceptable in the US. On July 3, 1947, the ghost writer arrived in Rome and began a series of talks with the admiral. On August 7, he returned to the United States. Soon the admiral began receiving chapters of a book based largely on the talks and little on the original manuscript. On October 1, Maugeri wrote to demand the omission of the sentences: "The British Admiralty had many friends among our high-ranking admirals and even in the Ministry of the Navy. I believe the English were able to gather authentic information directly from the source." The sentences were *not* omitted, and a book containing them was published under the admiral's name.

The ghost writer made a formal statement before a notary public that the sentences were the result of a misunderstanding of a remark Maugeri had made, and that the admiral was in no way responsible for them. Nevertheless, the Italian Ministry of Defense, while recognizing the admiral's good faith, called for his resignation as Chief of Staff on the ground that he had not taken adequate steps to prevent the publication of a statement that might put the Italian navy in a bad light.

Soon after the English-language book bearing the admiral's name was published in the United States, on April 27, 1948, the militantly fascist satirical weekly, *Asso di Bastoni* ("ace of big sticks"), started a series of attacks. Maugeri was accused—on the basis of the book and the award of the Legion of Merit—of having been a traitor to Italy, a spy and a saboteur. These attacks continued until November. Before they stopped, a gang of Fascists commanded by Prince Junio Valerio Borghese wrecked Maugeri's home in Rome.

The admiral brought suit for libel. On May 4, 1949, the publisher of *Asso di Bastoni* was convicted and sentenced to serve ten months in jail and pay an 80,000-lire fine. The sentence was upheld by the Court of Appeals on December 9, 1949. But on March 22, 1950, five magistrates, while also upholding the original verdict, decided that in order to change the verdict "it would be necessary to prove that Maugeri betrayed his country by spying in the interests of the Americans and English before September 8, 1943, and that he did it for mercenary reasons. We believe the admiral had contact before the armistice with the powers against which Italy was then at war, but it is not proved that he acted for mercenary reasons."

This decision was reached the day before Maugeri was to preside at a naval ceremony. The next day it was published by *Asso di Bastoni* and by pro-Fascist daily newspapers in Rome and Naples under the heading: "The treason of the admiral is proved." Maugeri at once appealed, demanding that the comment of the five magistrates be withdrawn or that he be given the right to a navy court martial.

On June 3, 1950, the day after the fourth anniversary of the founding of the Italian Republic, the Court of Cassation—highest legal tribunal in the country—rejected the admiral's appeal. His request for a court martial was turned down, and the opinion that Maugeri was a traitor—though not for money—was declared to be "nine-tenths true."

On the eve of the verdict, Arnaldo Geraldini wrote in the weekly *Incom*, a politically neutral publication:

> It is clear that the judicial proceedings hide a political battle and an effort to revise the responsibility for the war. The upholding of the verdict of treason, as proved by the facts, will bring up again the old thesis of [Mussolini's] Italian Social Republic that Italy was beaten not because Mussolini was guilty of having dragged the unprepared country into a gigantic war, but because of the work of sabotage and the defeatist sentiments of high military circles. . . .

The verdict of the supreme court of the Italian Republic is the greatest of Italian Fascism's victories since the end of the war. It is also the worst defeat for coöperation between democratic America and a country which officially professes to be democratic.

America is the most important of "the powers against which Italy was then at war." Perhaps Admiral Maugeri did have contact with the Americans a few days before the technical signing of the armistice. Perhaps he did want America rather than Germany to win the war. Perhaps he did prefer an Italian republic to a monarchy under the heel of Fascism and in the grip of the Nazis. But all these things—and the acceptance of the American Legion of Merit—were not treason to the Italy which the United States freed and put back on the road to political decency and economic recovery.

The mothers and fathers of Americans who died not only in the Italian campaigns but in all the other campaigns of World War II so that Italy might be free should take note of the judgment of the supreme legal tribunal of the Italy of 1950. The American taxpayers who foot the bill for ECA and MAP might also ask their Congressmen to find out just what the words treason and loyalty mean in the Italy which the American government has invited into the Atlantic community and is arming for a possible test—once more—of the world's democratic strength.

PERCY WINNER

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THE PROBLEMS OF POPULATION

by Warren S. Thompson

THE INCREASING AWARENESS of the public that there are significant relations between the size and the rate of growth of a population and its welfare, and between changes in its demographic composition and the need for adjustments in its social institutions to ensure their efficient operation, is manifested in the increasing volume of discussion of these matters.

On the one hand, the great need for food in many parts of the world has been brought home to all well-informed people in the Western world by the large exports of grain and livestock during and since the war from the US, Canada, Argentina and other surplus nations, not only to Europe, but to many Asiatic countries. The reports of the UN's Food and Agriculture Organization have done much to spread knowledge of chronic semi-starvation. On the other hand, the increased discussion of pensions, of the urgent need for more schools, of the atomic threat to great aggregations of population, and of the increasing needs of particular age, sex, color and occupation groups, is likewise proof of the growing awareness of the ways in which the composition and distribution of the population affect social welfare.

The population of the world has grown tremendously during the last century and a half and the outlook for the near future is for continued rapid growth if food is made available to the less industrialized peoples of the world. But most of this future growth will take place in regions different from those having the most rapid growth in the nineteenth century. In 1800 the population of the world was in the neighborhood of 900 millions, of which about 22 percent was of European stock. By the outbreak of World War I the total population of the world had almost doubled, and the greatest increase both proportionally and in numbers had taken place among the peoples of European stock. Since 1913 the world's population has continued to grow, but the growth of Europeans has been slower than it was and their proportion of the total is now declining. The world's population is now probably between 2,300 and 2,400 millions, a gain of more than 150 percent in 150 years, and appears to be growing at the rate of about one percent per year.

The chief reasons for this rapid and long-continued growth since 1800 are to be found: (1) in the great increase in productivity both in agriculture and industry which began about that time with the application of science to production and which was especially great among the peoples of European stock, and (2) in the subsequent application of science to the problems of sanitation and medicine.

The effect on population growth of this great increase in production and in the control of disease was even greater than Malthus would have anticipated. It lowered the death rate by mitigating the positive checks to population growth—hunger, disease and war—and thus led to a high rate of natural increase which endured for several decades in Europe before the decline in the birth rate, which has been so general in the Western world in recent decades, made its appearance. In most countries it was 50 to 100 years after the death rate had begun to decline before there was any significant fall in the birth rate. Furthermore, even after the birth rate began to drop, the death rate continued to fall about as fast for several more decades, so that the natural increase remained at a fairly high level even in the most industrialized countries until about the time of World War I. Even now among 60 percent or more of the people of the world there is no evidence of any decline in the birth rate, although the decline in the death rate continues.

The question, "Can the world feed its growing population?" is being asked more and more frequently. It is, in my opinion, unfortunate that the problem of population growth and food supply is so phrased when, as a matter of fact, the problem of food supply for the world's needy peoples is not a single problem, as this question implies, and cannot be, until there is a world organization to handle the problem as a whole.

As a consequence of the prevailing anarchy in world economic relations as well as of the distinctive economic conditions of each country, the problem of food supply is different for India, for the Philippines, for China, and for every other political and economic area. These problems can be discussed profitably only when concrete situations are considered. What are the conditions determining the movement of food from areas of surplus to a given area of deficit? What are the concrete problems involved in increasing the production of food (and the other necessities of healthy living) in China? in India? in Java? It does not solve any practical problem of production to have competent agronomists assure us that India can double her food production by using the scientific knowledge of agri-

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This is the seventh in a special series of articles commenting on various aspects of Western civilization halfway through the twentieth century. The next in the series, by Robert R. Nathan, will deal with problems of prosperity.

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culture we now possess. The practical questions here are not whether under ideal conditions India can produce enough food to care for another 100 or 200 million people, but: (1) How long will it take to effect a doubling of the food supply of India under the conditions likely to prevail? and (2) What will happen to India's population in the meantime?

In evaluating the effects of an increase in subsistence on the size of a population Malthus is still right for countries having high birth rates and very low levels of living. That there is generally abundant food in the Americas or Australia which could be sent to India, is of no importance in the solving of her food problem unless we and the Canadians and other food exporters will buy vast amounts of manganese, jute, cotton, sugar, pig iron, etc., if, and when, India can produce them.

In contrast to the crowded countries of Asia, there is no doubt that the United States and several other Western countries, where population is now growing slowly compared with the past, can provide food in abundance for their probable future populations. Even in the West, however, we must make exceptions of those countries which have come to depend heavily on imports of food and raw materials.

A realistic evaluation leads to the conclusion that there is no possibility of alleviating the unhappy lot of the greater portion of mankind in the near future. We are making only slow progress in unifying the economy of the world. Improvements in production will necessarily spread but slowly among the non-industrialized peoples of the world who are already overcrowded and can find only relatively small areas of new land to exploit. Finally, for some decades to come any and every increase in subsistence will result in an almost equal increase in population among these industrially backward peoples who are now at least a half more numerous than the entire population of the world in 1800.

The chief obstacles to the spread of birth control among the predominantly agricultural peoples are ignorance and the inertia of their institutions and mores, which inertia probably arises chiefly from ignorance. However, to the conservatism of ignorance must be added that of the people who have a vested interest in maintaining existing institutions, such as the Roman Catholic Church, which is the most important institutional opponent of contraception in the West at present, and the religious hierarchies of other countries. But, of course, opposition to population control is not confined to religious institutions. Hitler and Mussolini and Tojo all wanted unrestricted population growth. In the West, however, it appears that people, in spite of all opposition, are more and more controlling the size of their families in accordance with their ability to provide for children at the level approved by the community. Moreover, to the layman it appears that even the Roman Catholic Church has in principle abandoned its opposition to birth control, since it does not oppose use of the "rhythm" method.

Let us consider briefly the demographic changes now taking place in the United States, which are so much like those taking place in most of Europe, and in other countries settled largely by people from the North and West of Europe, that they may be considered fairly typical of "the West."

In the United States, as industry developed and people moved into the cities to work at industrial and commercial tasks, the birth rate began to decline. This decline was largely voluntary, and contraception has been, and is, the chief method employed in limiting the size of the family. For several decades after the birth rate began to decline, the death rate also continued to fall at only a slightly slower rate, so that the natural increase remained higher than one might have expected from the decline in the birth rate. In the United States the natural increase remained in the neighborhood of three percent a year until the Civil War. After that it declined rather rapidly and reached a low point of seven-tenths of one percent per year in the decade 1930-40. It has recovered, amazingly, to about 1.3 percent during the present decade (1.5 percent total increase).

Whether the large increase in births during this decade is proof of a reversal of the long-time downward trend in the size of the family is still in doubt for the following reasons: In the first place, a considerable number of marriages and of births were postponed during the depression. These were largely made up during the early years of this decade as economic conditions improved. We entered the decade (1940) with about a year's marriages to make up. This was done by the end of the war. Hence, it might reasonably be expected that the 1940's would have, in addition to the normal quota of births from a normal quota of marriages, about the equivalent of the births to be expected from one year's marriages which were postponed during the depression. In addition, births both to pre-depression and depression marriages were postponed during the depression, so that it is probably an underestimate to expect the equivalent of only one year's births during the 1940's which would normally have occurred during the 1930's. These "make-up" births may well have amounted to as many as 2.5 to 3 million or more during the 1940's.

Also it appears that the psychological climate, as it affected age at marriage and the timing and spacing of births, changed during the war more than was expected; earlier marriages, with a shorter interval before the first birth, and perhaps between first and second births, became more common.

Beginning with 1945 there was a very high marriage

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rate, averaging 13.7 for the years 1945-48. Thus in four years, even when allowance is made for the remarriage of divorced persons, there were probably about as many new marriages as would have been expected in five years at a normal rate of 10.5 or 10.6. The unusual character of the marriage situation during the 1940's is also shown by the increase in the proportion of all women aged 14 to 34 who were married in 1940 and 1948—50.2 percent in 1940, and 60.5 percent in 1948. An increase in marriages and, in due course, in births, is usual in times of prosperity, just as a decrease takes place in times of depression.

It is possible, of course, that there has been a reversal of the long-time downward trend in the birth rate; but the facts given above make this seem doubtful. People do not generally realize that when the spacing of children, and the total number, are subject to control, wide variations in the birth rate over a short period can take place without affecting the long-run population trend.

The decline in the death rate and birth rate mentioned above has inevitably had important effects on the composition of our population, especially on its age make-up. The modern decline in the death rate generally manifests itself first among infants and young children. This increases the proportion of children in the population, and in the course of time, these children pass into older age groups and these older groups become an increasing proportion to the population. This development is reinforced by the decline in the birth rate. Fewer children, proportionally, enter the population, but since more of them live to old age, the older groups increase both absolutely and proportionally and the younger groups decrease (proportionally and sometimes absolutely).

In the United States the entrance of numbers of immigrants has affected the age composition because immigrants are predominantly young adults. Large immigration such as we had before 1925 also affected the sex ratio, since males were more numerous than females.

Because of the rapidly declining birth rate, the actual number of children entering our population began to decline significantly after 1925. Quite naturally, in due time this affected the demand for all those goods and services designed for children—baby supplies, toys, schools, school teachers and school equipment, children's clothing, etc. The recent upsurge in births has already largely increased the demand for baby goods and children's supplies and is beginning to place a heavier burden on schools. The absolute number of children entering school will reach a maximum in 1953 (six years after 1947), when it will be about 70 percent larger than in 1939 (six years after 1933). However, the total number of children of elementary and high-school age will continue to increase for some years.

On the other hand, persons in the most productive ages (20-44) have not changed in proportion significantly in the past 60 years and will change only slowly for another decade or two. They should increase somewhat proportionally when the present baby crop reaches these ages. Older persons—especially those 65 and over—will continue to increase rapidly both in numbers and in proportion for some years.

Even more important than the direct economic effects of a large number of old people in our population is likely to be their effect on our social attitudes. One cannot say anything very definite on this point, but one wonders what effect they will have on our willingness to undertake social, economic and political changes, and whether their control of property will affect the use of capital—will there be less willingness to take risks?

Another long-time effect of the declining birth rate is to reduce the rate of population growth. Even with the recent upsurge of births, the rate of growth, 1940-50, will probably be a little less than in each of the two decades 1910-30. If the decline in the birth rate sets in again, even though it is slower than in the past, it will probably result within two or three decades in the population's becoming practically stationary, or even decreasing. This has already happened in France. There may be no connection between slower population growth and the ability of a nation's economy to continue expanding and improving in efficiency. However, it is probable that with a rather sudden checking of population growth, as there was in the United States after 1925, the problem of finding a market for the volume and the kinds of goods we were prepared to produce became more difficult, and hence this slower growth of population may have been a factor in deepening the depression after 1929.

The rapid spread of the small-family system, leading to the slower growth of population, has undoubtedly enhanced considerably the ability of many families to save. This, in turn, has affected the volume of funds available for investment in productive equipment and no doubt has tended to increase the capacity to produce consumers' goods at the very time when, because of slower population growth in an economy having a relatively stable pattern of income distribution, it was becoming increasingly difficult to get products that could be made into the hands of users. On the other hand, when population is growing rather rapidly, there is an expanding market. Moreover, in this country at least, a fairly rapid increase in numbers seems to encourage higher wages, better farm prices, social-security benefits, etc.

The redistribution of our population now in process may have significant effects not only upon the structure of our economy but on our manner of life. It appears likely that almost our entire increase in population since 1940 has settled in metropolitan communities, most of it

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outside actual city limits. Will the blighted areas of our larger cities continue to grow? How are the tax problems of cities to be met when those best able to pay taxes move out in large numbers? What will be the effects on retail business of the development of peripheral shopping centers? What kind of schools will develop in suburban areas? How are the new transportation problems of these satellite areas to be met? In addition, such growth is significant from a strategic point of view in a world which has atomic weapons but has found no way of bringing them under control.

There is also a vast movement of people to the West Coast states, which seems likely to add about half to their 1940 populations by the end of this year. Such a movement has national as well as local consequences.

The continued and perhaps accelerated movement of Negroes from the South to the North and West is another change worthy of far more than mere mention. Race problems are already becoming acute in certain regions where they were formerly unknown.

The continued decline in the farm population also needs careful study. As farming becomes more and more a commercial operation and the farm product entering the market becomes concentrated in fewer hands of greater strength, how will urban-rural relations be affected? Will agricultural interests, like management and labor interests, tend to develop monopolistic practices?

Population changes are generally rather slow and only occasionally demand immediate action, as when the increase in school children demands more schools, and the growth of metropolitan regions creates urgent demands for new and improved highways and for enlarged water and sewage facilities. Other population changes are not urgent; rather, they are symptomatic of basic social changes which affect our national life but do not thrust themselves insistently upon our attention. Hence, there is a tendency to note them and then forget them. The gradual aging of our population, the smaller family resulting in the slower growth of population, and certain aspects of the redistribution of population belong in the class of changes which are not usually urgent and therefore are generally ignored. If we do not study the effects of such changes and plan accordingly, we shall succeed less adequately in providing for the general welfare.

WILL THE BOOM LAST?

by Dewey Anderson

IN RECENT WEEKS, the daily press has been filled with optimistic statements about the condition of the national economy. Most of the business prognosticators are saying that the level will be high for at least six months or a year. Although the stock market fluctuates wildly, its general course during May and the first half of June was upward; some stocks reached the highest point since the great bull market of the twenties. The employment upturn in April caused optimistic statements to be put out by various government bureaus, which had apparently stopped worrying about the problem of unemployment.

Was this optimism justified? What are the facts about the employment situation?

The increase in total industrial activity of the late spring has been due to five factors: first, restoration of the depleted inventories of 1949; second, record-breaking construction of houses; third, expanded automobile output; fourth, the influence of greatly enlarged individual borrowing; and fifth, veterans' spending of their $2.8 billion insurance dividend.

Offsetting these expansionary factors, there have been other developments which are far from justifying optimism. First of these is our apparent inability to restore full employment as we had it in 1948, despite the sharp rise in industrial output. This increase has amounted to eight percent in the five months ending with May, yet the demand for labor has failed to expand appreciably, if you allow for seasonal factors. Non-agricultural employment, on the Census basis, had risen only one percent by May above the average for the fourth quarter of 1949, when major strikes affected employment. The current level of 3.1 million unemployed, or 4.9 percent of the civilian labor force, is only slightly lower than the rate of a year ago—five percent—and 70 percent higher than two years ago.

A sharp increase has been experienced in long-term unemployment during the past two years. While in the period February to May of this year the number of unemployed decreased by more than 1.5 millions, the number unemployed 15 weeks or longer was hardly reduced at all. In May they totaled one million, including 500,000 who had been out of work six months or longer.

The available evidence indicates that the rise in employment and drop in unemployment this spring has almost all been seasonal, reflecting increases in agriculture and construction. An increase in unemployment may be expected to begin about now, when 500,000 college graduates enter a labor market where vacancies are almost non-existent in many fields. It should continue to rise in the fall after inventories have been built up.

The fact is that we have not been able to expand consumption, and therefore employment, fast enough to keep up with the one million people who annually enter

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the labor market. We are also failing to provide new jobs for those displaced by technological advance. For the economy as a whole, productivity has been increasing lately at about three percent per annum, but in certain manufacturing industries, notably durable goods, gains have been as high as eight to 12 percent. In April, 1950, average weekly man-hours of production workers in manufacturing were down eight percent from two years ago, but industry was able to expand output 1.5 percent. Obviously, to reach and keep a maximum level of jobs, we must increase effective demand *at least* enough to keep pace with these gains in productivity. But gains in real wage income are not keeping abreast of industrial productivity.

Recent increases in output per man are not being adequately reflected either in lowered prices to the consumer or in more money income to labor. Too many of the gains achieved through increased productivity in the past two years have gone into undistributed corporate profits and higher dividends. Some consumer prices, notably rents and essential utilities, have risen sharply and are still rising. Others, like food and clothing, which might be expected to go down, fell only moderately.

The existence of "sticky prices" is dramatically evident if we exclude food and fibers from the wholesale price index. There was a noticeable drop in total demand in 1948-49, yet this decline was not in any way reflected in a majority of the industrial commodities included in the index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. More than half of these commodities held their peak postwar prices, while some, such as metals and building materials, rose.

How profits and dividends run away from wages is shown by figures compiled by the New York Federal Reserve Bank and the Council of Economic Advisers. Between January, 1949, and April, 1950, the Bank's index of average hourly earnings in manufactures went up less than one percent. On the other hand, the Council of Economic Advisers estimates that corporate profits have risen 16 percent between the second quarter of 1949 and the first quarter of 1950. Cash payments of dividends are up by the same proportion. So it is not surprising that a relatively small increase in industrial activity has created such large increases in corporate profits and that Wall Street is booming.

Yet permanent prosperity will not be sustained if we do not increase consumer demand. This condition is being prevented by the unbalanced price, wage and profit relationships described above. If we don't do something about it, recurring unemployment crises are inevitable. It is clear from recent experience, moreover, that moral exhortations to employers to keep prices down and increases wages commensurately with productivity gains have been largely ignored.

This situation has resulted—while adjustments were still capable of being made—in shifts from one occupational group to another. Although total civilian employment in April, 1950, was back to about the level of April, 1948, there have been sharp drops in two important groups. Skilled workers, craftsmen, foremen, etc., have declined by 600,000 and semi-skilled workers, such as machine operatives, have declined by 300,000. Offsetting this drop, the number employed in distribution, including selling, has increased by about a million. These jobs on the whole pay less than the others just mentioned, and are taken only when workers are unable to get higher-paid skilled employment. The increase in distribution jobs also demonstrates the return of a buyers' market.

By the beginning of this year, manufacturing was providing about one-third of all non-farm jobs, as it did before the war. Trade, finance and the service industries were furnishing another third. Transportation is down, public utilities are up, mining is level. Government employment is up. Building is high, with about five percent of all non-agricultural jobs. However, the recent cost increases in new houses, the determination of Congress to let the middle-income groups sink or swim by their own efforts, and the absence of plans to develop a replacement market, suggest that the present level of housing construction may not be maintained beyond 1950.

With a return to prewar conditions in the composition of employment, it will be increasingly difficult to find jobs for the technologically unemployed, and newcomers to the labor market. The drift toward the distributive and service trades may continue for a time, but even this could come to a halt.

It is imperative that government policy should be directed toward solving the problems arising from the unbalanced conditions in the economy described above. This is a primary responsibility of those charged with the implementation of the Employment Act. If it were not for the distribution of the veterans' bonus, the easing of consumer credit and the curtailment of supply temporarily through the steel and coal strikes, the seriousness of the situation would be far more apparent than it is.

Increasing the arms budget is not the way to full employment that most Americans want to travel. That way means high profits for a few. Propping the economy that way means freezing the inequities and enlarging the imbalances in the distribution of income.

The full employment we want is one that rests on high consumption of a variety of goods and rising living standards for the many. This is the kind of full employment the Fair Deal is meant to provide. To get it, government policy must implement those adjustments in prices, wages and profits which are necessary.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: Those Clever Communists

THE COMMUNISTS are diabolically clever. They talk without saying anything. They bore from within. They operate under aliases. Their identities are known only to scrupulous and faithful men such as Louis F. Budenz. They buy and sell military and other secrets. They betray their closest friends. They plot to compromise men and women and then testify against them. They use people as cat's-paws, unbeknownst to their victims. They will stoop to every perfidy. Above all, they lie brazenly. As a matter of fact, the lie to the Communist is as his musket to the soldier.

All of these things we have known, but it was not until the patriotic Joseph R. McCarthy of Wisconsin came to Washington that a high intelligence was focused upon the Communists. Perspicacious Joe soon caught on to their tricks. He knew just how many had infiltrated into the government, although he did not know who or precisely where they were. Despite this handicap, under the protection of his Congressional immunity, the heroic McCarthy ventured one or two names. Isn't that what Congressional immunity is for? What matters it that he has not been able to support his charges with proof? His intentions were honorable. Himself at one time a brave soldier, McCarthy knows that there have to be casualties in a war. It is only smart to let the other fellow be the goat.

It has not even mattered that McCarthy has freely used the well-known technique of the Communists. He has not sought the headlines. He would have avoided them if he could. McCarthy's heart is pure. This is proved by every word of his, every act. On the contrary, the perfidy of the Communists is demonstrated by their treachery toward McCarthy. Nothing so well demonstrates the vileness of the Communists as the toils in which they have attempted to ensnare their arch-enemy. Instead of Marshal Stalin giving McCarthy the highest decoration within his power to bestow, he has not even restrained his minions from luring McCarthy onto the tangle-foot from which Senator Styles Bridges and other well-wishers hope that he will be able to extricate himself.

The pity of it all is that not even the astute McCarthy could foresee the devilish plot that the Communists would concoct against him. Back in 1947-48, before McCarthy set out to slay his thousands, or hundreds, or at least his one or two Communists, those sons of Satan, with a prescience that one must admire, even although unwillingly, contrived a time bomb that would explode, when least expected, in the Senatorial physiognomy. They diabolically planned that, as vice-chairman of a Joint Congressional Committee, the Senator would investigate housing, in which he and the real-estate lobby have been greatly interested. They saw to it that he would continue to draw his Senatorial salary and emoluments and that, in addition, a large bill for expenses would be paid by the government. They contrived that he would write an article on housing for which the Lustron Publishing Corporation would pay him $10,000, on which, fortunately for him, he would not have to pay income taxes—if he could work up a big enough expense account. It was grist to the Communist mill that the Lustron Corporation itself was in default on a $36,500,000 federal loan from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

According to McCarthy, the booklet in which his article was incorporated was to sell for 25 cents. In addition to the $10,000 by way of earnest money, McCarthy would receive 10 cents for each of the first 100,000 copies sold. This would be a 40-percent royalty. Properly, this was probably the largest royalty on record. Other less distinguished, although top-flight, authors are generally satisfied with 15 percent.

Nor is this the full story of the evil plottings of the Communists against "Our Joe," as distinguished from Russia's. Who else could have brought it about that the Senator from the state that specializes in cheese would insist on holding onto his state judgeship while running for the United States Senate? What if it was a violation of the constitution of Wisconsin? What if a doubtless jealous State Supreme Court had formally characterized some of McCarthy's judicial acts as "highly improper" and "an abuse of judicial power"? His heart was pure, wasn't it?

It must have been the Communists, again boring from within, who inspired the petition by the Bar Association of Wisconsin urging its Supreme Court to disbar McCarthy. Who but these contemptibles would arrange it so that, in 1943, McCarthy would inadvertently fail to disclose an item of income amounting to $42,000? McCarthy undoubtedly also has these ferrets to thank for campaign contributions in 1944 of $18,000 from his father, brother, and brother-in-law, while seeing to it that his father did not have enough income to require the filing of a tax return and that neither his brother nor his brother-in-law filed a return of more than $2,000.

In view of this record, how can it be doubted that they have been clever enough to insinuate thousands, or hundreds, or at least one or two Communists, into key positions in the State Department?

HAROLD L. ICKES

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TWO ARLINGTON SCHOOLS

The US Supreme Court has recently attacked the theory that Negroes can get education equal to that of other citizens in separate institutions. It is clear that if the Court's view applies to colleges, a strong case can be made that it is true of secondary schools as well. This fact lends a special interest to a recent decision of the United States Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, which found Arlington, Virginia, guilty of discrimination against Negroes in public schools. The chief parts of the decision are given below. It was written by Judge Morris A. Soper, and reversed a decision of Judge Albert V. Bryan in the Alexandria District Court.

This case again brings to our attention the right of Negro students in state schools to the same or substantially equivalent privileges of education as white students. The difficulties inherent in the practice of segregation are again emphasized. The schools in question are high schools located in Arlington County, Virginia, where the Negroes of school age constitute only a small percentage of the school population, so that the expense involved in affording to the small minority in a separate school every course of study and every kind of equipment and recreational facility that are given the majority is proportionately . . . great.

Washington-Lee High School for white students is predominantly a senior high school with a total of 2,377 students of which 1,881 are in the senior and 496 in the junior high school.

Hoffman-Boston High School for Negro students is predominantly an elementary junior high school with 48 senior high-school pupils, 13 boys and 35 girls, and a total enrollment of 270. In 1946-47 and in 1947-48 high-school students numbered 12 and 18 respectively, of which only three were boys.

The burden upon the county authorities became more onerous when in recent years the schools in the District of Columbia imposed a tuition fee upon students from Arlington County and discontinued the practice of admitting Negro high-school students from the county free of charge.

Negro students who desired to attend the Washington schools to obtain courses and facilities available to white but not to Negroes in Arlington County applied to the Arlington County School Board to pay their tuition, and this was done during the 1946-47 and 1947-48 sessions.

In 1948-49, however, payment of tuition was refused to all Negro students except those who had completed three years of work in District of Columbia schools.

These circumstances led to the present suit, which was instituted by Constance Carter, a Negro high-school student, by her mother and next friend, on her own behalf and on behalf of 300 colored students in Arlington County similarly situated. Subsequently, two other high-school students, Julius Brevard and Peggy Council, were permitted to intervene.

It was alleged that each of the plaintiffs applied for and was refused certain courses and educational advantages afforded to white students at Washington-Lee but not given to colored students at Hoffman-Boston.

The suit was resisted by the school authorities on the ground that the educational advantages at Hoffman-Boston are substantially equivalent to those given at Washington-Lee, and this view was taken by the District Judge. . . .

In our view, this position is untenable, since the evidence indicates, that in plant facilities and courses of education the white students of Washington-Lee enjoy advantages which are not offered to the students at the colored high school.

The differences between the two schools are sufficiently illustrated by the following facts, which support the conclusion that discrimination actually exists:

The physical plant and equipment at Hoffman-Boston in important respects compares unfavorably with that at Washington-Lee. Each school has a shop annex, but the white high school has seven separate shop rooms or areas with adequate equipment for the training of students in various skills. It has a general machine shop, an automobile mechanics shop, mechanical-drawing room, machine shop, sheet-metal shop, printing shop and wood shop. The cost of the shop building was $110,000 and the cost of its equipment $21,000.

Hoffman-Boston has a single general shop in one room with a variety of equipment, but no machines or tools for instruction in automobile mechanics or printing and no machines for instruction in machine shop, sheet-metal or wood shop. The cost of the shop building, which also houses the home-economics department, was $37,500 and the cost of the equipment was $2,000.

Washington-Lee has four science laboratories: that is, a physics laboratory, a chemistry laboratory and two biology laboratories, with adequate furniture and equipment which cost $34,501. Hoffman-Boston has only one science room in which all of the sciences given at the school are taught. The equipment is less substantial and varied than that at Washington-Lee and cost $1,934.

The library at Washington-Lee consists of a reading and lending room and a reference room. It contains 8,682 books and 93 subscriptions to periodicals. The books cost $12,000.

The library at Hoffman-Boston consists of one room made by combining two rooms of classroom size, and is not so well adapted for library purposes as the rooms at Washington-Lee. It contains 1,077 books, which cost $1,921, and 21 subscriptions to magazines.

Washington-Lee has two rooms especially equipped for instruction in music. It has also an auditorium designed for band and orchestra instruction, with a stage, music stands and storage rooms. Hoffman-Boston has no special auditorium or room for instruction in music. For this purpose it uses its main auditorium . . . and a small classroom formerly occupied as the principal's office.

Washington-Lee has two large rooms especially equipped for instruction in typing which are furnished with typewriters, special tables and chairs, mimeograph machines and a mimeoscope. Hoffman-Boston uses one small room which is equipped with some typewriters but no mimeograph or mimeoscope.

Washington-Lee has two gymnasiums, one for girls and one for boys. Each gymnasium is well equipped with a basketball court, dressing rooms, locker room, shower rooms, etc.

Hoffman-Boston has no gymnasium. Its auditorium is convertible for use in calisthenics and some gymnasium equipment is furnished; but the room is not suitable for gymnasium purposes and structural columns interfere with games. It has no basketball court, dressing room, lockers or shower facilities.

Washington-Lee has a large, well-arranged cafeteria in which lunches are served. Hoffman-Boston has no cafeteria or lunchroom facilities, but plans have been made for a cafeteria to open in September, 1950.

Washington-Lee has an infirmary . . . with six beds and first-aid equipment. Hoffman-Boston has no infirmary, clinic or first-aid room, but a nurse spends three afternoons a week there.

There are many subjects taught at Washington-Lee that are not given at Hoffman-Boston. The list of these subjects includes courses in speech, journalism, solid geometry, commercial arithmetic, bookkeeping, automobile mechanics, woodworking, printing, etc.

Washington-Lee is accredited by the well-recognized regional accrediting agency, the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and by the Virginia State Department of Education. Hoffman-Boston was accredited by the

(Continued on page 22)

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE IRREVERENT MR. MENCKEN

by Henry F. Pringle

THE BIOGRAPHER who attempts a full-length portrait of a living personality must struggle with certain obvious handicaps. The chief of these is that the colors have not yet been set by time. And this is why, perhaps, the real Henry L. Mencken seems to have eluded Edgar Kemler. But that may be merely my personal view.

Another difficulty is that the writers who knew and worked for Mencken have emphatically-held views about him. This reviewer, for instance, remembers more than any other characteristics, the kindliness of the man and his innate courtesy. The contradiction between his writings and his manners always seemed startling.

THE IRREVERENT MR. MENCKEN, by Edgar Kemler (Atlantic-Little, Brown; $3.50).

The years when he ran the *American Mercury* were great years for young writers; let us shed a tear for its green cover, now reduced to digest size. Mencken cared little for great names. His interest was in ideas. If an idea came to him from the most obscure newspaper reporter in the country it was promptly passed upon. If the suggestion had merit, the reporter would be encouraged to write the article. And in due course—oh, glorious day!—might come one of those little notes hammered out on the ancient typewriter on Hollins Street in Baltimore.

"Your admirable article goes to the printer at once," the notes read, in substance. "In short order our amiable cashier will send you a check. What other ideas have you?"

If the reporter (now become an author) lived in the vicinity of New York, he was fairly certain to be invited to call on Mencken in the old Hecksher Building offices of Alfred A. Knopf. That first interview with the Great Man was, as it started, a nervous occasion. Yet soon the embryo author was at ease. Mencken gave the impression that he had nothing on earth to do except to talk with his new contributor.

The charge has been made, of course, that the editor of the *American Mercury* was a literary spider who entrapped youthful writers and made them slaves to his own and the magazine's style. A little truth, but not much, lurks in the accusation. It is true that Mencken could not edit any article without inserting a few of his Germanic words, such as *polizei*, that he found strange delight in prefixing names with "The Rev." and that "Mr." nearly always became "Dr." But were we men or mice? Proofs of what we wrote were invariably sent to us. I remember a time I protested, although with trepidation, at what seemed a surplus of Menckeniana. The Master wrote meekly that he would have the whole piece reset.

I find I am writing precisely the kind of book report which justifiably annoys an author. The reviewer holds forth at length on what he knows, or thinks he does, about the subject of a biography instead of talking about the book itself. I apologize to Mr. Kemler. It is not fair at all to imply, if I have done so, that Mencken's biographer fails to give a human portrait of the man. Incidents enough are told about his gentle qualities: his refusal not to answer long-distance telephone calls, although they drove him half crazy; his love of children; his gusty if often preposterous sense of humor. It is hard, at least it is hard just yet, to think of Henry Mencken as a tragic figure. Yet tragedy marked his life deeply. How different his mellow years might have been but for the death of Sara Haardt, the lovely and talented woman to whom he was so briefly and so happily married.

Kemler's conclusion is that Mencken was mainly a failure. He was a "skeptic of the first rank—an American Rabelais, Swift or Shaw—who somehow abused his gifts." The abuse lay, the biographer thinks, in writing too much about the passing scene. It is probably too early to reach this conclusion with any accuracy—again the difficulty which confronts the chronicler of a contemporary. For the future student of Mencken's time the portions of the book which deal with the issues of the day will arouse the greatest interest. Kemler believes Mencken lived beyond his day because the people and influences against which he fought were fading from the scene. So the circulation of the *American Mercury* began to melt. The Sage of Baltimore no longer had an audience.

The thesis can be challenged. The frauds are still with us, and so are the boobs. The postwar hysteria of World War I is mild when compared with the jitters of the McCarthys and the rest. Mencken excoriated the frauds, in or out of the government and in or out of the pulpit. Kemler lays great stress on his German ancestry and attributes totalitarian leanings to Mencken, and it is there, I think, that his portrait grows badly blurred. Those of us who loved Mencken, and were often irritated because we loved him, knew that he said things because of the resentment the saying would arouse. He liked to throw eggs into the cosmic electric fan.

But the assumption that he was anti-democratic is palpably absurd. The theory that he really believed in the Fascists or the Nazis is idiotic. He was often wrong, as all journalists are often wrong. He could be lamentably cheap. He was the Peck's Bad Boy of the literary world. But he could not be a Nazi or a Fascist because he loathed cruelty, he loathed seeing people pushed around, he detested rudeness. I remember seeing him once, if Kemler will forgive another personal reminiscence, at a cocktail party in New York.

The occasion was one of those dreadful affairs staged by some publisher in honor of a potential—or so he hoped—best-selling author. Mencken had wandered in and was pinned in a corner by a highly inebriated author's agent. Finally a discerning young matron rescued him, and asked why he had not

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pushed the fellow aside. Menck's eyes bulged with bewilderment.

"I don't know," he said, "I was afraid I might hurt the poor bum's feelings."

Henry F. Pringle is the author of several books, among them biographies of William Howard Taft, Alfred E. Smith and Theodore Roosevelt (for which he won a Pulitzer Prize). With his wife, he is at present preparing a history to be called America at War.

THE USE OF LIBERALISM

THE LIBERAL IMAGINATION, by Lionel Trilling (Viking; $3.50).

LIONEL TRILLING, one of our best critics, has collected in this volume sixteen essays which range through politics, literature, general culture and psychology. His writing is characterized by impressive learning and evenness of temper. The deadening hand of mechanical scholarship and the arrogance of much of modern criticism—equal if opposite forms of pedantry—have of late enforced an artificial division that is happily obliterated by Trilling's knowledgeable sensitivity.

With the belief that in fiction ideas count for more than style, Trilling investigates the intellectual and literary stature of a number of writers. Henry James, Mark Twain and F. Scott Fitzgerald possess for him in varying degree those qualities which produce the best kind of art: compassion, breadth of understanding, depth of vision and genius for expression. Dreiser, however, is bumbling in thought and art; Sherwood Anderson is nearly one-dimensional, and Kipling is so barren intellectually and so quintessentially mediocre for all but children that he is pushed back into the well-deserved minor position from which he had been somewhat sensationally lifted a few years ago. There are brilliant explorations of the relationship of psychoanalysis to literature; among other valuable contributions Trilling demolishes the popular notion that the artist is, almost by definition, a neurotic. The assurance and fluency with which he manages, criticizes and modifies the data of Freud's theories for purposes of literary application testify to a thorough knowledge of a subject too often glibly and superficially dealt with in criticism. The analysis of the Kinsey Report is, if anything, more thought-provoking and certainly wittier than the Report itself: the mordant point of this essay is that the investigators took everything biological into consideration except the fact that they were dealing with human beings. Finally, the cultural forces which have shaped literature in Europe and America, particularly the latter, are examined with a penetration unsurpassed by any contemporary critic of similar intent. The essay that gives a new interpretation of Wordsworth's "Immortality Ode" is academic and anomalous; it does nothing to further the declared intention of the volume.

This collection deserves high praise, but in some respects it is disappointing. The word "liberal" is used throughout to impart a kind of unity, or to denote the intellectual direction of the essays. Trilling admits that he employs the word loosely; consequently we may assume that by it he means the generous, humane spirit which colors or conditions the individual's outlook at the source of thought, with coloration or conditioning extending into the world of activity. Such a working definition is all to the good, but at the same time we have to recognize that it is so amorphous as to be of little practical service, especially when we encounter this observation: "In the United States at this time liberalism is not only the dominant but even the sole intellectual tradition. For it is the plain fact that nowadays there are no conservative or reactionary ideas in general circulation."

The first sentence is true, and the statement as a whole is cheering, although Trilling wishes there were more of an opposition to keep liberalism alert, but it is cheering only because the concept of liberalism has been made so all-inclusive as to exclude very little. When Trilling adds that conservatism and reaction exist only by "impulse" rather than by "idea," he compounds an oversimplification already too beguiling. Again, he says that, "In its feeling our educated class is predominantly liberal," having previously defined "educated" in this way: "I use the word *educated* in its commonest sense to indicate those people who value their ability to live some part of their lives with serious ideas." Thus, only liberals have ideas, and only those people who have "serious ideas" are educated and liberal. This kind of reasoning is sometimes called the "heads-I-win-tails-you-lose" school of logic.

But the bafflement engendered in the reader by these definitions is not so serious as the general effect or tone of the book. If liberalism implies anything, especially in its loosest sense, it implies an inextinguishable optimism, in the terms of generous, humane spirit. This is to be differentiated sharply at the outset from naïveté or downright moronic euphoria. Even when optimism takes on the complexion of desperation, as is the case these days for so many, it must remain inextinguishable. And it must remain so because there are no alternatives which are meaningful without warp, corruption or even destruction of the free, democratic individual. It is therefore odd, if not significant, that Trilling should consistently arrive at negative conclusions of such intensity on the status of American culture and literature as to suggest that he has thrown in the sponge, despite a few ritualistic words on the continuing need for liberalism. This is not to say that he has done so; rather, it is to say that the book inescapably gives this impression.

SIDNEY E. LIND

Sidney E. Lind is a member of the English Department of Brooklyn College. He has published articles in scholarly journals, and is now preparing for publication the collected book reviews of Henry James.

THE DEVIL THEORY

THE TRUTH ABOUT SOCIALISM, by Leo Huberman (Lear Publishers; $3).

THIS BOOK is somewhat reminiscent of that story about the Moscow subway which was current before the iron curtain came down. As the tale has it, an American tourist, while being guided past the frescoes and through the polished stairways of the Metro, asked why there were no trains. His question was ignored, but he persisted. Finally, his guide stared at him and shot back, "And what about the lynchings in your South?"

In like manner, Huberman displays the virtues of socialism by delivering a transparently partisan exhortation on the vices of capitalism. After a while the sad performance becomes a kind of liturgy in which repetition, condescending simplicity, contrasts that shock,

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rhetorical questions and assorted non-sequiturs substitute for straight thinking. The pity of it is that Huberman once demonstrated qualities which impelled many to accept him as a popular social and economic writer of some repute. Those qualities are no longer evident in this book.

Huberman doesn't care for capitalism and he states why clearly enough: there are monopoly, uneven income distribution, cycles of prosperity and depression, wars, imperialism, wastefulness, inefficiency, inhumanity and all the other charges that social critics have levied against it. On these grounds the author might readily gain assent from many readers. Yet some knowledgeable persons will dislike the simple monochromatic account of history that Huberman offers. We may protest his off-hand dismissal of the middle class as a significant element in politics. Surplus value—and all the other categories in the Marxian economic eschatology—are not nearly so obvious as Huberman would have us believe. These are complex problems and the banal treatment to which they are here exposed does little to create clarity.

The discussion of monopoly is an excellent illustration. Since Huberman views the question with a kind of devil-theory approach, the problems of partial monopoly, monopolistic competition, quality differences, duopoly and the like are simply ignored. One does not learn from this book that such problems exist, much less that they might be germane to a consideration of capitalism's survival. And in a few places the author commits absurd errors. His bogey story about a million-dollar inheritance creating an annual income of $40,000 for endless generations of heirs ignores present-day tax systems.

The central weakness of this book, however, as is the case with so many of its genre, is the failure to face up to the problem of the democratic control of economic planning. Hayek and von Mises, for example, have repeatedly prodded liberal thinkers on this. While we may abjure their palpable reactionism, these writers were asking questions which, viewed against the experience of modern Russia, seem more pertinent than ever. Huberman, in his anxiety to take the long-run historical view, does not believe this to be an immediately significant question. But planning without democratic control can easily become totalitarianism, and that Huberman surely knows is too ghastly a price to pay. BEN B. SELIGMAN

Ben B. Seligman, economist and statistician, was formerly on the staff of Brooklyn College. He has contributed to the Nation, Commentary, the New Leader, Tomorrow and the New York Post.

BRIEF COMMENT

Recollections of Logan Pearsall Smith, by Robert Gathorne-Hardy (Macmillan; $3.50).

Logan Pearsall Smith is of minor interest as an intermittent member of that brilliant set of Americans abroad—Henry James, Edith Wharton, Santayana, Berenson, and so forth. But more intriguing is the way, with none of their brilliance, without talent to speak of, he made for himself an independent literary reputation. Beginning with Pater as model, by a lifetime of reading, of perusing dictionaries, Roget's *Thesaurus* and Poole's *Parnassus* ("a glittering collection of gem-like epithets arranged alphabetically under appropriate nouns"), he stored an enormous booty of words and phrases. These he strung together, unstrung, restrung, polished, until he developed a passion for "jewel-tinted words" which can best be tested in the volumes of scraps he published as *Trivia.* By such means he arrived at the facsimile of a prose style which has been extravagantly praised by people who share the same concept of "style."

The life that was dedicated to this disinterested pursuit is the subject of Gathorne-Hardy's book. As protégé-secretary-companion, he is an intimate authority on the last seventeen years of Smith's life. His "Story of a Friendship," warmly endorsed by Smith's family, is a curious document indeed: it makes Smith out a repulsive bore. True, there are protests of affection and generalized tributes to Smith's sensitivity and charming conversation. We can take these on trust, if we like, but in the face of weighty and specific evidence to the contrary, we wouldn't think of it.

A vain, waspish old man, complacent, comfort-loving (with an "innate suffusion of selfishness"); arch, playful and coy (in his letters embarrassingly "cute"); pedantic ("a bibliography is to me above the price of rubies"); repetitious and long-winded ("You've heard this before," he would say to Gathorne-Hardy, "but you're paid to listen"); uncannily prepared on all occasions with the prosy sentiment; jealous, harboring "grievances," cruelly revengeful—all this is Smith on the evidence of an admiring friend. The pathetic aspect of his career, with its misplaced aspirations, its vanities, its false sense of achievement, is its ironic contrast with the artist-as-hero figure, along the model of Flaubert. For something of that esthetic ideal was among Smith's pretensions, and how readily he would accept the epithet with which his friend, Desmond MacCarthy, has canonized him: "A Saint of the Life of Letters." J. F.

Too Little Love, by Robert Henriques (Viking; $3.75).

Characters, events, and the long drift of years (from 1926 to 1948) combine to chant in this novel a nostalgic argument for "the grace and propriety" of a time (as late as 1926, the year of the General Strike) when a great paternalistic family ruled over acres to which it could not apply scientific farming methods or properly tend because of rising costs of labor. Not only that, but the reader is taken through a survey of the years to be told that human relations and society are on the terrible wane, and that values (many of them presumed to have existed only in the intrinsic goodness of the great-family, great-estate pattern) have been lost, never to be found again. Nostalgia thus lending a legendary charm to that feudal-remnant existence, as if all England had been wrapped in green velvet sward, as if there had not been mills, coal mines and slums, we are asked to believe that a fair division of property and a more equitable distribution of wealth can make artful robots of us all. Only by owning property can men cooperate responsibly (one of the Old Guard of the Great Families says this); nothing can come out of the forced fraternization in chaos but more chaos and less feeling. "We are now the dispossessed and the tramps," say the Old Guard in 1948. "The flame of grace and propriety is out," says someone else. But it is not asked how much is *in.*

It is a tricky and a touchy subject, this long novel studying the corroding effects of modernity and the death that is assumed to have befallen certain fine flowerings of the spirit. For example, Henriques laments the disappearance of that kind of orderly leisure the grand master life provided; at the same time he criticizes the fact that under the Labour Government thousands are being guaranteed more leisure than was had before, and at least a minimum of security (as over against the billowing security of a Few, a security so lulling that in the face of change, everything went to sleep and was lost, including the land and the charmed life).

In the same way, his nostalgia for the ritual of fox hunts, great dinners and the servants' life of gossip and ruddy amours behind the scenes exaggerates, in a discreet and often not too perceptively pre-

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judiced fashion, the goodness that life did generate. If only it had been general, if only everyone had been employed as pleasantly as the pantry boy of the Great Family and everyone educated as benevolently as this one (to rise, in later years, to an important position in the government).

It is assumed of the present now gliding into the future that it will be a thing "of monstrous communities, of mass slavery, mass obedience to insane plans and laws," and that if there was too little love in the old society of master and pantry boy, there will be even less motive for love in the leveling-out process whereby an equality of benefits is striven for and the days of the Individual, reigning over acres, is withered away. . . . The gloom is too sorry and the litany too long. Its conservative sentiments simplify the social picture too readily.

. . . All guts and fish-hooks can make dull reading when crooks with dead-end hearts are supposed to be redeemed by the sea. This is especially true when, as in *Fiddler's Green*, by Ernest K. Gann (William Sloane Associates; $3), the dialogue, pert as a comic strip's, and scenes packing as much of a payoff, result in a fast-action fiction on about the most confected of one-layer levels.

. . . As for *The Unheard Music*, by Eleanor Cameron (Little, Brown; $3), which concerns a woman in a public library trying to forget the man she loved who has become a successful painter, married to the "poet Anne Welbourne, and living in a pleasant studio in Greenwich Village," it is all wisps and myopia. Great conductors are called Stagnari and Massingham and there is some misty business about a great symphony (a ninth) having been left unfinished. Birds fly in "lovely formations" through the pages. It does not bother to tell a story, hoping, rather, to evoke "mood." JEAN GARRIGUE

ON THE AIR: Global Sense

THE MACHIAVELLIAN DEFINITION of peace as an interlude between wars is considered very sophisticated in many adult circles. It was startling, therefore, to hear a 12-year-old boy hit that classic concept by asserting over the radio: "Peace is more than just *not* war!" And it was heartening to hear a half-dozen or so other boys and girls, all of them ranging from eight to twelve, come to the support of and enlarge upon the theme expressed so firmly by the first youngster. It happened on a program broadcast (locally only; at 7:30 on Thursdays) by WNBC. The network should find time for the show on its coast-to-coast chain.

The program is called "Children Should Be Heard," and is conducted by Helen Parkhurst, who used to let kids talk their heads off on "Child's World," at ABC. Miss Parkhurst has improved her techniques considerably. An important advance is the fact that now she transcribes her sessions on magnetic tape—a medium much more flexible than the discs on which the old program was recorded.

What's most important, however, is that Miss Parkhurst knows how to put her guests at ease and can guide them into meaningful expression without getting in their way. On the opening program the principal subject had been the United Nations, or so it seemed, since Warren Austin spoke a brief introduction on that topic. But it didn't take the discussants long to broaden the assignment until it included such fundamentals as a child's right in a democracy to talk up, a child's right to food for the mind as well as to vitamins. I found more good sense on this kid cavalcade than I hear on the majority of so-called adult forums.

It's interesting to note that Miss Parkhurst's use of tape will not, necessarily, keep her off the network. The national broadcasters have, in the last couple of years, modified the rules that forbade the airing of transcribed shows on "prime" time.

Another restriction that is rapidly being overcome is the one limiting a series of programs to a quarterly period of 13 weeks. Miss Parkhurst's WNBC schedule called for five weeks. On July 6, NBC's national chain will start another series—Thursdays, from eight to 8:30—that is down on the log for only four weeks. This program, to be called "The Quick and the Dead," will offer many noted scientists and some of our best scientific writers in dramatizations highlighting the production of atomic and hydrogen bombs. It, too, is being put together on tape by one of the true masters of that art, Fred Friendly. He is the man who has worked with Edward R. Murrow on the "I Can Hear It Now" albums. The new show will star Bob Hope, who will have to be good as master of ceremonies if he wants to match the job already done by John Garfield as the narrator on a UN atomic-energy program carried on the Mutual network.

The UN program was entitled "The Year of Decision," and it was immediately clear that a great deal of talented teamwork had gone into this straightforward but highly dramatic statement of the fact that we must decide, right now, how to use the $e=mc^2$ formula. The team included Gerald Kean, as supervisor; Mavor Moore as writer-director; Jeff Sparks and Michael Hayward as the radio reporters who interviewed scientists; Antonia Gordon, who did much of the basic research; and Louis Applebaum, a Canadian composer, who for the second time in five or six months contributed distinguished and effective music to a UN show. Professor Albert Einstein was on the program; his statement was a veiled hint that the best thing scientists can do now is to go on strike against participation in the use of atomic energy for weapon-making purposes. I did not understand why President Truman, who is the head of only one of the UN's 59 nations, was given the next-to-closing spot. Truman has not been noted for his support of Trygve Lie's objectives. However, Garfield, as narrator, did pick one sentence out of the President's remarks to drive home the program's major theme—the necessity for deciding this year whether or not we are going to crack up.

Several months ago, I ran a list of UN programs scheduled for the weeks ahead. The information was of little value because network affiliates have the right to broadcast the shows any time they choose—regardless of New York's originating day and time—or to refuse to broadcast them at all. Other important UN programs are coming up, on NBC and Mutual and on many local stations. If you are interested, write directly to the UN Radio Division (Lake Success) or to me for the schedule in your area. From Lake Success still come the most successful documentaries on our air. SAUL CARSON

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THEATRE: London Completed

THE ENGLISH ACTOR'S contained theatricality is definitely an asset. Mordecai Gorelik asked me in London how it was possible for Ralph Richardson to play a humdrum bank clerk in R. C. Sherriff's domestic melodrama, "Home at Seven," so convincingly, and yet give the character stature. If the actor were Russian, the answer might be "by truth and depth of emotion." In Richardson's case, the answer is "by theatrical vividness."

Richardson uses his voice to give readings in the simple part that are as throbbingly emphatic or intense as if he were playing a heroic play in verse. This excites the spectator beyond the intrinsic interest of the character or the play. The vocal effect is so subtly incorporated into a workaday parlor manner that the spectator does not realize that what he is witnessing is no longer realistic acting.

Theatricality—which simply means a stylization that italicizes normal significance by visual and aural means, with the intention of giving arresting color and atmosphere to each situation—is nearly always better than literal statement, but it must not be considered an end in itself. (We should not forget that in the days when all acting was expected to be theatrical, the method of speaking "naturally" was in itself considered a startling and rather disagreeable theatrical effect.) Theatricality must have content; without content, it becomes what we call "ham," and the better English actors know how to avoid a "hammy effect" through intelligence and taste. Still, some of the best of them achieve theatricality without achieving significance.

All styles are right when they are justified by inner truth and valid objectives. The stylization demanded by Brecht for the acting of his Epic theatre can be as true as the realism of the so-called Stanislavsky actor. Both styles become equally false when they lack justification, in terms of feeling, intention and meaning. One must not act Shakespeare, Shaw, Yeats, O'Casey, Odets, Coward and Fry in the same way. The heresy of both the English and the American actor is that the Englishman often tries to reduce all occasions to one basic *theatrical* style, the American to one *naturalistic* style.

One reason why the English actor frequently seems more professional than the American is that the Englishman, more often than the American, is a working actor. I am not speaking of the younger actors—who have their troubles with unemployment—but of the better-known actors. When the Englishman has become a leading player, he acts; when the American becomes "important," he considers propositions to act. An American of Richardson's standing would not deign to appear in so trivial a play as "Home at Seven." He would prefer to remain idle (or do a picture) until offered something worthy of his mettle. When this happy event takes place, he then becomes fussy over the choice of the director, over his salary, billing and the very house he will consent to play. In this way the actor becomes more proficient as a star than as an actor. The attitude of a Richardson is more craftsmanlike, but the cause for this difference is not personal; it is economic.

I saw Chekhov's "Ivanov" at the Arts Theatre, a three-hundred-seat house which only subscribers for the season attend. "Ivanov" is Chekhov's first play (1888) and technically a little awkward and repetitious. It is nevertheless a very fine play: one that puts everything else that we praise nowadays in the shadow. I say this not as a Chekhov fan—I am personally attracted to more stylized forms in the theatre—but because Chekhov fulfills the two absolute requisites for first-rate creation: a complete identification of the creator with his material (which comprises a thoroughly honest confrontation of his own time and of his own self) and the mastery and purification of his craft in terms of what he has found in his material.

Chekhov was entirely of his time: loved it, understood it, and perceived its terrible defects. Hence his play is a tragi-comedy. There are scenes in "Ivanov" as funny as anything in Gogol or Dickens. The funny scenes are part of the tragic picture. Because "Ivanov" is entirely true to its time and place—but profoundly so—it acquires an interest beyond its time. It is the picture of the idealist gone to seed, the sensitive man turned sour and destructive because of a lack of support in his environment. Thus the play is at once a grim report on life in Russia in the late nineteenth century and an utterly objective creation of what Chekhov saw and felt about the world he observed and of which he was part.

He presents no facile explanations or solutions—he even mocks them in the play, putting some of the most pointed social truths in the mouth of an old drunk, and making his "honest man," who in a modern American play would be a sort of "reasoning" hero, a prig and a bore. The result of all this is a play that, while true as a mirror of life, is not all naturalistically passive, because the author had both vitals and morality, a play that is both a sound document and, in its own way, a poem.

If my readers want to know why I find many "good" plays—like those of Anouilh, Sartre, Eliot, Fry—fundamentally inadequate, despite their undeniable merits, it is because they fail to face the life of their time squarely in the sense that Chekhov faced his in "Ivanov."

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"Ivanov" is to me an example of what a creative person—without the aid of a formal doctrine—can accomplish in a positive sense in a so-called negative period. Ours is such a period.

HAROLD CLURMAN

One thing is now known for certain about the Arena Theatre: it is no place for Shakespeare. Some plays may profit from the intimacy and spatial realism of theatre-in-the-round (to a degree, "The Show-Off" did, and it would be useful now for some dramatist to aim directly for this central staging), but almost everything is wrong with the current production of "Julius Caesar."

It is not appropriate to play heroic tragedy at such close quarters; no company of actors should be asked to take on work "most bloody, fiery and most terrible" while the audience squats around the pit like yokels at a cockfight. Again and again, the performers had to be marched from the Arena's stage in a disciplined fire drill, the last pairs of the procession staring with morbid fascination at their fingernails as they waited their turn to pass out quietly. The action was more than confused; it induced an eye-exhausted vertigo. And when Brutus and Antony, haranguing the Roman cattle, must revolve slowly on the rostrum like models at a Paris opening, the jig is clearly up.

Under these circumstances, there is little profit in examining the interpretation or the acting, but in this "Julius Caesar" they are certainly not commendable. The play was pitched at a vulgar level, performed with broad superficiality. Shakespeare's lines obliged the actors to apostrophize one another's proud birth and noble spirit, but the proof was wanting. Caesar (Horace Braham) was crotchety and gone womanish with age, Antony (Alfred Ryder) was a strutting bully-boy, Brutus (Joseph Holland) was a prig of wood, and Basil Rathbone's Cassius belonged behind the coal-oil footlights of a Tom show. Rathbone is demonstrably better than that and, at least by implication, so are the others. Shakespeare is not such a complaisant playwright that he can be whipped together on a weekend and displayed in someone's attic.

ROBERT HATCH

(Continued from page 16)

latter for the first time in 1948-49 on a probationary basis but has never been accredited by the former.

The white pupils at Washington-Lee enjoy various extra-curricular activities, such as glee clubs, choruses, cadet corps, publication staffs, Hi-Y organizations, debating clubs and various athletic teams, and are eligible for nomination to the National Honorary Scholastic Society and for the receipt of the Bausch & Lomb Honorary Science Award.

None of these activities and awards are available . . . at Hoffman-Boston.

The failure to provide these opportunities cannot be defended on the ground that their absence is mainly attributable to the size or location of the school.

It is contended that many courses are not given at Hoffman-Boston because they have not been requested or desired by the students, and that to provide for such a demand if it should arise a survey is made in the spring of each year to ascertain what subjects the students will desire for the following session. Interrogatories are issued to the students in attendance as to their desires for the next session and inquiries are made at public meetings of parents in parents' and teachers' associations and similar organizations; and it is said that if any course is found needed, it is provided.

This procedure, however, is not followed at Washington-Lee, where all courses in the curriculum are available each year to every eligible pupil without previous demand or request. This difference in procedure cannot be sustained.

It places a burden upon the colored student and deprives him of the opportunity of taking a course of instruction unless he has determined to take it months in advance, whereas the white student may apply at the opening of the session and obtain the desired instruction. . . .

In further defense of the failure to furnish certain courses to the students at Hoffman-Boston, it is pointed out that the school authorities of Arlington County have adopted the policy of sending Negro vocational pupils to the Manassas Regional School, which is situated 25 miles distant in Prince William County. . . . Only one Negro student has availed himself of this opportunity.

It does not offer, in our opinion, an equivalent advantage for colored students desiring courses which are given to white students in Washington-Lee. . . .

The above recital of existing conditions at the two schools is not intended to cover the whole field of physical plant and instruction, but rather to demonstrate by illustration that discrimination in the treatment accorded the students of the two races undoubtedly prevails. . . .

It is established, however, that the

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right of the individual student to the privilege of public instruction equivalent to that given to the individual student of another race is a personal one, and equivalency cannot be determined by weighing the respective advantages to the two groups of which the individuals are members. . . .

The view was expressed by the trial court that the differences between the two high schools are not discriminations outlawed by the Fourteenth Amendment, but only such variations as might be expected to exist between any two schools, springing from differences of size, location or methods of instruction; and that the state need not furnish the same or similar treatment to its citizens, but may vary the form of its benefits, provided all citizens receive shares of equal value.

Again it was said that differences may exist between the provisions made for white and for colored citizens without fouling the amendment, if the differences result only from unattentive stewardship or faulty judgment, and that such shortcomings are defects of administration to be corrected by the responsible authorities and are not constitutional defects for judicial interference.

These holdings may not be taken as safe guides by the school authorities or student population of Virginia.

The differences between the two schools are not merely unimportant variations incident to the maintenance of separate establishments, but constitute unlawful discriminations against pupils of the colored race; and it is no defense that they flow in part from variations in the size of the respective student bodies or locations of buildings.

The burdens inherent in segregation must be met by the state which maintains the practice.

Nor can it be said that a scholar who is deprived of his due must apply to the administrative authorities and not to the courts for relief.

An injured person must, of course, show that the state has denied him advantages accorded to others in like situation, and when this is established, his right of access to the courts is absolute and complete.

The present case, as we have seen, was brought by three individual students on their own behalf and on behalf of other students in the colored schools of Arlington County similarly situated and too numerous to be brought into court.

It is contended that the case must be dismissed on the ground that none of the three named plaintiffs has been deprived of instruction in any subject for which he was qualified and had made a bona-fide request. The facts do not sustain the contention in its entirety.

[The decision then reviews the evidence showing that Negro students who had asked for a course in Latin, and one in auto mechanics, had been refused, while white students were receiving such courses.]

A sufficient showing has been made by Peggy Council and Julius Brevard to justify further proceedings on their behalf in the District Court.

The judgment of the District Court is reversed and the case is remanded for further proceedings. Reversed and remanded.

(Continued from page 4)

Hobbs's views must be suspect, or at least devious? I objected to this sort of thing in Mr. Weyl's book and, since he employs the technique on a smaller scale in the above letter, I must conclude that it is a conscious habit. I said in my review: "What is needed in these hysterical times is precision and sanity in discussing the battle for the mind and soul of man. . . ." I still believe that to be true.

Mr. Weyl says that my main grievance was that he included "treatment of the cases of Hiss, Coplon and the Communist Party leaders." Wrong. My *main* grievance was that he included them in a book entitled *Treason*, for the reason that these parties were not indicted for treason. I can think of few more provocative subjects for serious books than these people and the problems of our times which they represent. I cited the psychology of renegacy and hysteria as an example in my review. And I mean studies without any preconceived notions regarding guilt or non-guilt. Mr. Weyl seems to think that I have the notion that Hiss, for example, is innocent and that that is the basis for my quarrel with his book. I have no idea whether he is guilty or innocent, but I do know he was not charged with treason.

Mr. Weyl claims I am guilty of "suppressing" the subtitle of his book, "The Story of Disloyalty and Betrayal in American History." On the contrary, if I had wanted to bolster my argument I would have included it. The relationship between title and subtitle is the same as between title and the body of the book itself. I would submit it as a splendid example of the non-sequitur on the title page. Has Mr. Weyl written a book on treason, or has he written a book on disloyalty and betrayal? If the latter, why didn't he say so in his title; if the former, how explain the inclusion of non-treason cases under that title, even though he does rationalize it, as I admitted, in the text? My complaint was and is that if the Constitution is precise vis-à-vis treason, why cannot Mr. Weyl be?

Washington, D. C. MALCOLM HOBBS

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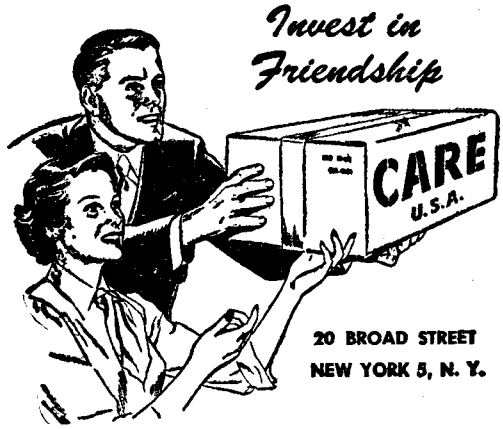

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